

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS  
AUSTIN DIVISION**

ROY CHARLES BROOKS, FELIPE  
GUTIERREZ, PHYLLIS GOINES, EVA  
BONILLA, CLARA FAULKNER,  
DEBORAH SPELL, and BEVERLY  
POWELL,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

GREG ABBOTT, in his official capacity as  
Governor of Texas; JOHN SCOTT, in his  
official capacity as Secretary of State of  
Texas,

*Defendants.*

Case No.: 1:21-cv-00991

THREE-JUDGE COURT REQUESTED

**COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF**

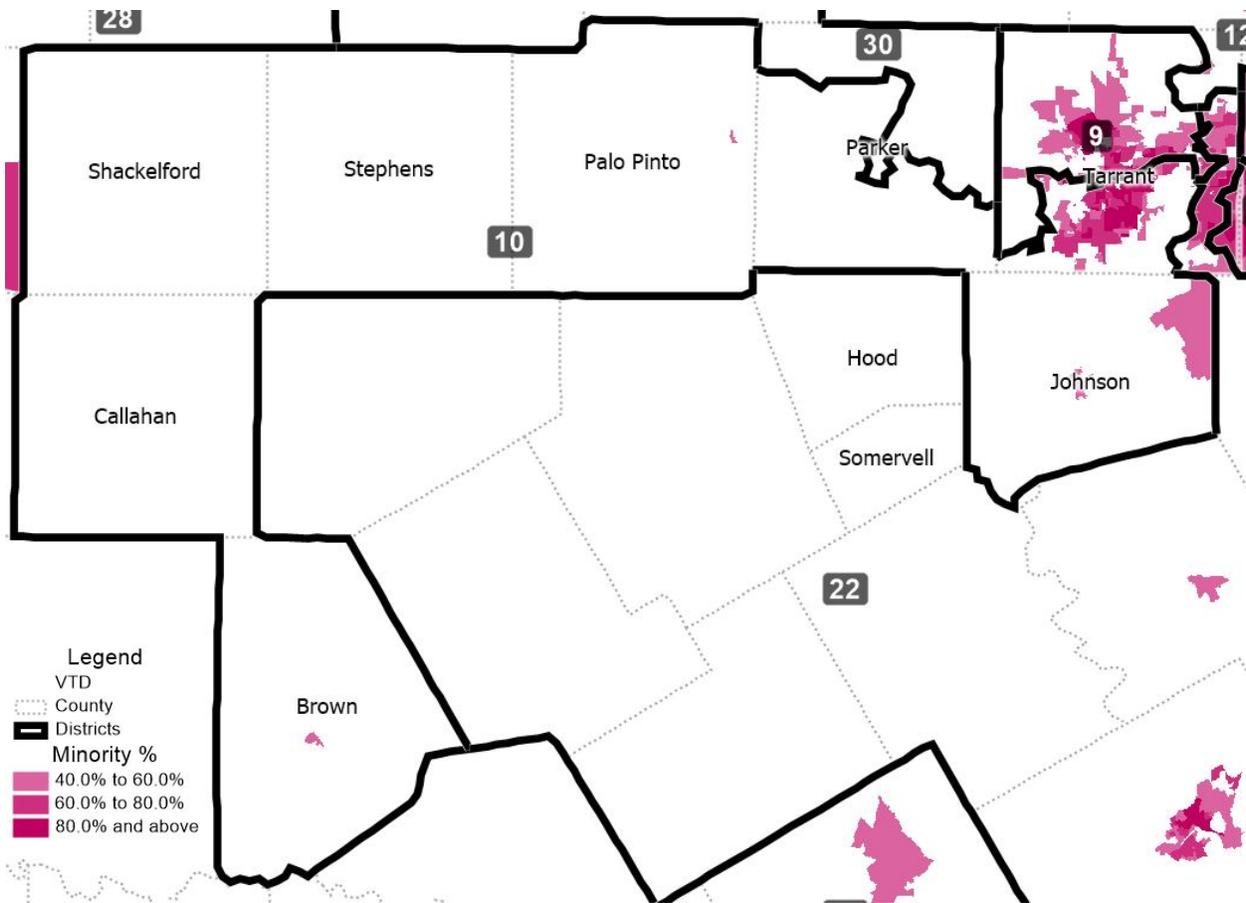
Pursuant to 42 U.S.C. § 1983 and 52 U.S.C. § 10301, Plaintiffs allege as follows:

**INTRODUCTION**

1. In each decennial redistricting cycle in modern history, Texas has enacted plans that federal courts have ruled to be racially discriminatory in intent and/or effect. Like clockwork, Texas has done so again.

2. Remarkably, Texas has enacted the *same* racially discriminatory scheme to dismantle Senate District 10 (“SD10”) as a performing crossover district for Tarrant County’s minority voters that a federal court declared intentionally discriminatory last decade. With knowledge of that federal court ruling, and with full knowledge of where Tarrant County’s Black, Latino, and Asian voters reside, the mapdrawers acted with racially discriminatory intent in drawing Plan S2168, which cracks apart Tarrant County’s Black, Latino, and Asian voters and

submerges them in Anglo-dominated districts in which they will have no opportunity to elect their preferred candidates. As the map below show, the legislature purposefully cracked apart Tarrant County’s minority voters, shown in pink shading, and splintered them across three senate districts in which they will be overpowered by Anglo bloc-voting against their candidate of choice. Those districts take tortured shapes, as they did when the federal court invalidated them last decade. Indeed, the legislature has reprised the infamous “lightning bolt” from its 2011 Tarrant County congressional plan, inverting it this time to come from the south.



3. Since the federal court last enjoined this same scheme just nine years ago, SD10’s Anglo population has fallen nearly ten points, making this latest attack on SD10’s minority population even more egregious. Indeed, 57% of Tarrant County’s population is non-Anglo, and

53% of its voting-age population is non-Anglo. Yet in this majority-minority county with over 2 million residents, SB4 includes *zero* districts in which Tarrant County’s minority voters have any opportunity to elect their candidate of choice.

4. Every member of the legislature was made aware of this intentionally racially discriminatory scheme, and the adverse effect it would have on the electoral opportunity for Tarrant County’s minority voters. Each member saw maps showing the details of the cracking of minority populations in SD10, and each received and heard detailed demographic information about the discriminatory changes to SD10. A floor amendment in the senate to restore SD10 to its benchmark configuration received bipartisan support—including the vote of Sen. Kel Seliger (R), who chaired the redistricting committee last decade when the federal court ordered the restoration of SD10—but nevertheless failed to pass.

5. The legislature knew what it was doing, and intended the discriminatory result it achieved by cracking SD10’s minority voters and submerging them in Anglo-controlled districts.

6. In addition to engaging in intentional racial discrimination by dismantling SD10, the legislature has diluted the votes of Tarrant County’s Black and Latino voters by failing to create a new majority Black/Latino coalition senate district in Tarrant County as Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (“VRA”) requires.

#### **JURISDICTION AND VENUE**

7. This Court has jurisdiction pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331, 1343, 1357, 42 U.S.C. § 1983; and pursuant to 52 U.S.C. § 10301 *et seq.* Plaintiffs’ action for declaratory and injunctive relief is authorized by 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201 and 2202, as well as by Rules 57 and 65 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. Jurisdiction for Plaintiffs’ claim for costs and attorneys’ fees’ is based upon Fed. R. Civ. P. 54, 42 U.S.C. § 1988, and 52 U.S.C. § 10310(e). Venue is proper in this

district pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b), because a substantial part of the events and omissions giving rise to the claims in this case occurred in the Western District of Texas and Defendants reside in this district.

### **PARTIES**

8. Plaintiffs challenging Senate Plan S2168 are citizens and registered voters residing in benchmark SD10 and SD22. Plaintiffs have standing to bring this action under 42 U.S.C. § 1983 to redress injuries suffered through the deprivation, under color of state law, of rights secured by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, 52 U.S.C. § 10301 et seq., and the U.S. Constitution, as well as standing to bring this action directly under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. § 10301.

9. Plaintiff Roy Charles Brooks is a Black citizen and registered voter. He resides in benchmark SD10 and under Plan S2168 resides in SD10.

10. Plaintiff Felipe Gutierrez is a Latino citizen and registered voter. He resides in benchmark SD10 and under Plan S2168 resides in SD9.

11. Plaintiff Phyllis Goines is a Black citizen and registered voter. She resides in benchmark SD10 and under Plan S2168 resides in SD9.

12. Plaintiff Eva Bonilla is a Latina citizen and registered voter. She resides in benchmark SD10 and under Plan S2168 resides in SD9.

13. Plaintiff Clara Faulkner is a Black citizen and registered voter. She resides in benchmark SD10 and under Plan S2168 resides in SD10.

14. Plaintiff Deborah Spell is a Black citizen and registered voter. She resides in benchmark SD22 and under Plan S2168 resides in SD22.

15. Plaintiff Beverly Powell is the incumbent state senator in SD10 and is the candidate of choice of the district's minority population. She resides in benchmark SD10 and under Plan S2168 resides in SD10.

16. Defendant Greg Abbott is sued in his official capacity as the Governor of the State of Texas. Under Texas election laws, Governor Abbott "shall order . . . each general election for officers of the state government" by proclamation. Tex. Elec. Code § 3.003.

17. Defendant John Scott is sued in his official capacity as the Secretary of State of Texas. Mr. Scott is "the chief election officers of the state," Tex. Elec. Code § 31.001(a), and is required to "obtain and maintain uniformity in the application, operation, and interpretation of" Texas election laws, such as by issuing directives and instructions to all state and local authorities having duties in the administration of these laws, *id.* § 31.003. As Secretary of State, Mr. Scott is empowered to remedy voting rights violations by ordering any official to correct conduct that "impedes the free exercise of a citizen's voting rights." *Id.* § 31.005(b). Mr. Scott prescribes the forms used to obtain a place on a party's general primary ballot, *see id.* §§ 141.031, 172.021-.024. A political party wishing to hold a primary must deliver written notice to Mr. Scott noting its intent to hold a primary election, *id.* § 172.002, and must certify to Mr. Scott the name of each candidate who has qualified for placement on the general primary election ballot, *id.* § 172.028. Finally, the adopted redistricting plans are filed with the Secretary of State to ensure that elections are conducted in accordance with those plans.

## FACTS

### ***Federal Court Declares 2011 Effort to Dismantle SD10 Intentionally Racially Discriminatory***

18. In 2011, the legislature cracked SD10's minority population across three districts, ensuring that they would have no ability to elect their preferred candidates. Examining the

evidence, a three-judge federal court concluded that “the Senate Plan was enacted with discriminatory purpose as to SD 10.” *United States v. Texas*, 887 F. Supp. 2d 133, 166 (D.D.C. 2012).

19. The court provide a detailed account of the fracturing, explaining that SD10 contained “almost all the traditional and growing minority neighborhoods of Tarrant County in and around Fort Worth, including the historic Northside Hispanic area, the growing Southside Hispanic area, and the predominantly Black areas of Southeast Fort Worth, Forest Hill, and Everman.” *Id.* at 226 (citation omitted). The court explained that in the 2011 Plan, “[t]hese areas are broken apart and placed into Anglo-controlled districts.” *Id.*

20. In particular, the court noted the “community known as the ‘north side Latino community,’ which [was] moved out of SD 10” in the 2011 Plan. *Id.* at 228.

21. The changes to SD10 in the 2011 Plan were not explainable by the need for population adjustments, the court reasoned, because SD10’s deviation was “well within the population deviation accepted for redistricting” state legislative districts. *Id.* at 226.

22. The court noted that the mapdrawers knew the areas removed from SD10 were minority neighborhoods, and rejected the mapdrawers’ contention that partisanship explained their decision to fracture SD10’s minority population. *Id.* at 228-229. Concluding that the dismantling of SD10 was the product of intentional racial discrimination, the court noted that “[t]he dismantling of SD 10 will have a disparate and negative impact on minority groups in the District.” *Id.* at 229.

23. On April 18, 2013, then-Attorney General Greg Abbott sent a letter to the House and Senate Redistricting Chairs, copying all committee members, explaining that “the D.C. court concluded that all three maps were tainted by evidence of discriminatory purpose” and “[t]hat is exactly why you should take action. The Legislature has both the opportunity and the obligation

to remove the specter of discrimination.” Mr. Abbott advised the legislature “to adopt the court-drawn interim plans as the State’s permanent redistricting maps,” including the benchmark configuration of SD10.

24. Sen. Joan Huffman—the Chair of the Senate Redistricting Committee this year—was a member of the Senate Redistricting Committee in 2011 and 2013, received the letter from then-Attorney General Abbott, and was present at committee meetings in which the federal court’s discriminatory intent ruling regarding SD10 was discussed. She voted to adopt Plan S172, which restored SD10 to its benchmark configuration, a bill that passed and was signed into law by then-Governor Rick Perry.

25. After the legislature repealed the 2011 Plan, acquiescing to the federal court’s intentional discrimination ruling, the federal court declared then-Senator Davis the prevailing party and ordered Texas to pay her (and her co-litigants’) attorneys’ fees in excess of \$1 million—a ruling that was upheld on appeal and which the Supreme Court declined to disturb.

### *2020 Census*

26. Under 13 U.S.C. § 141, commonly referred to as Public Law 94-171 or P.L. 94-171, the Secretary of Commerce must complete, report, and transmit to each state the detailed tabulations of population for specific geographic areas within each state. States ordinarily use the P.L. 94-171 data to redraw district lines.

27. States, including Texas, received the P.L. 94-171 dated on August 12, 2021.

28. The 2020 Census revealed that Texas’s population grew by roughly 4 million people from 2010 to 2020, and this growth was driven almost exclusively by minorities. Minorities accounted for **95%** of the roughly 4 million new Texans.

29. Texas is a majority-minority state. The 2020 Census shows that 39.7% of Texans are Anglo, 39.3% are Hispanic, 13.6% are Black, and 6.3% are Asian. Minorities also constitute a majority—56.8%—of Texas’s voting age population.

30. The 2020 Census also revealed explosive growth among Tarrant County’s Black, Hispanic, and Asian populations. Tarrant County has a total population of 2,110,640 persons, of whom 42.9% are Anglo, 29.4% are Hispanic, 19.2% are Black, and 7.2% are Asian.

31. As of the 2020 Census, Tarrant County’s voting age population is 46.9% Anglo, 26.3% Hispanic, 17.9% Black, and 7.1% Asian. This reflects a rapid growth in the minority share of Tarrant County’s voting age population and a steep decline in the Anglo share of its voting age population. At the time of the 2010 Census, Tarrant County’s voting age population was 56.6% Anglo, 22.9% Hispanic, 14.6% Black, and 5.3% Asian.

***Benchmark SD10 Is a Performing Crossover District that Effectively Elects Minority Voters’ Candidates of Choice***

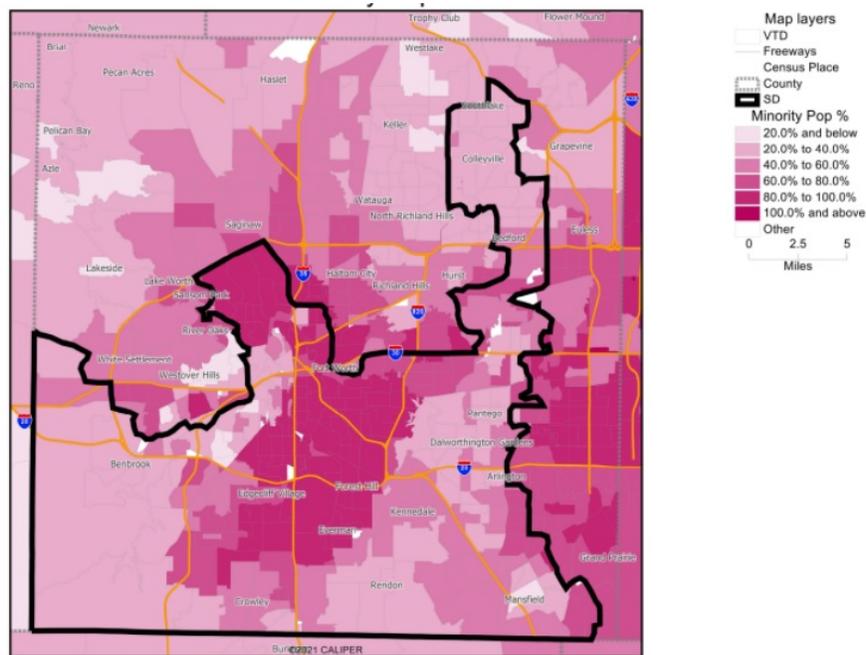
32. SD10 has existed in essentially the same configuration since 2001. The 2020 Census revealed that it had a population of 945,496 persons, just 5,318 above the ideal population. This translates to a 0.57% deviation—the fourth lowest among any senate district in the benchmark plan—and well within the legally permissible deviation.

33. The population deviations of the neighboring senate districts could have nearly perfectly offset one another, such that no changes to SD10 were needed to balance the population of any other district. For example, while benchmark SD8 was overpopulated by 6.16%, benchmark SD16 and SD23 were underpopulated by 1.42% and 5.64% respectively. Moreover, while benchmark SD12 was overpopulated by 15.55% and benchmark SD30 was overpopulated by 9.26%, those deviations could have been remedied by shifting population to neighboring SD28, which was underpopulated by 15.33% and SD31, which was underpopulated by 7.54%.

34. As of the 2010 Census—the data available when the federal court ruled the prior attempt to dismantle SD10 was unlawful racial discrimination—SD10’s population was 47.6% Anglo, 28.9% Hispanic, and 19.2% Black. Its Anglo citizen voting age population (“CVAP”) was 62.7%.

35. The 2020 Census revealed a large increase in minority population in SD10, and a corresponding decline in Anglo population. SD10’s total population under the benchmark map is now 39.5% Anglo, 32.2% Hispanic, and 21.5% Black. Its Anglo CVAP has fallen to 53.8%.

36. The map below shows SD10’s boundaries as they existed in the benchmark map and includes shading to show the areas where SD10’s minority populations are concentrated.

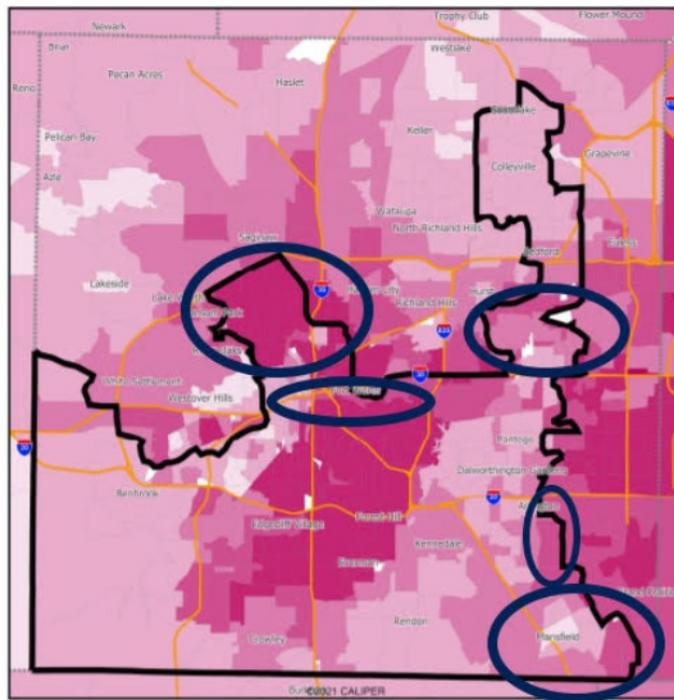


37. SD10 has performed as an effective crossover district in which its minority voters succeed, with some crossover Anglo support, in electing their candidates of choice. For example, then-Sen. Davis (D) won the district in 2008 and 2012, carrying the vast majority of SD10’s minority voters. Likewise, Sen. Beverly Powell (D) won the district in 2018, with overwhelming support from the district’s minority voters. In recent years, minority candidates of choice for

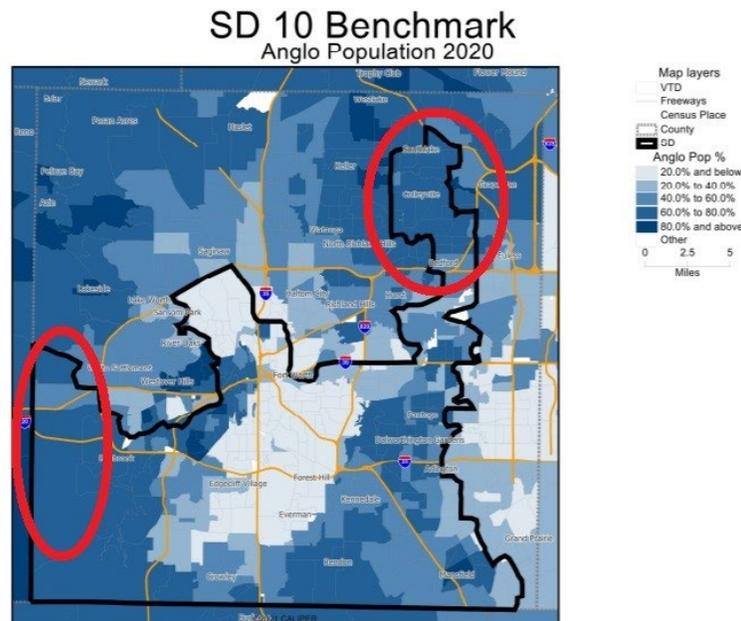
statewide or national office have likewise carried the district. In the 2020 presidential election, Biden (D) prevailed in SD10 over Trump (R) (53.1% to 45.4%), in the 2020 U.S. Senate election Hegar (D) prevailed in SD10 over Cornyn (R) (49.8% to 47.7%), in the 2018 U.S. Senate election O'Rourke (D) prevailed in SD10 over Cruz (R) (53.3% to 45.9%), in the 2018 Attorney General race Nelson (D) prevailed in SD10 over Paxton (R) (51.6% to 46.1%), and in the 2018 Lieutenant Governor election Collier (D) prevailed in SD10 over Patrick (R) (50.8% to 46.9%). Moreover, in the 2020 Tarrant County Sherriff race, Vance Keyes, a Black Democratic candidate, carried SD10 over Anglo Republican candidate Bill Waybourn by a margin of 51.2% to 48.8%.

### **Enacted SD10 Cracks Tarrant County's Minority Population**

38. The enacted SD10 in Plan S2168 intentionally cracks Tarrant County's minority population in order to dismantle the district's status as a performing crossover district for minority voters. The map below shows, in circles, the minority population that is cleaved from SD10.

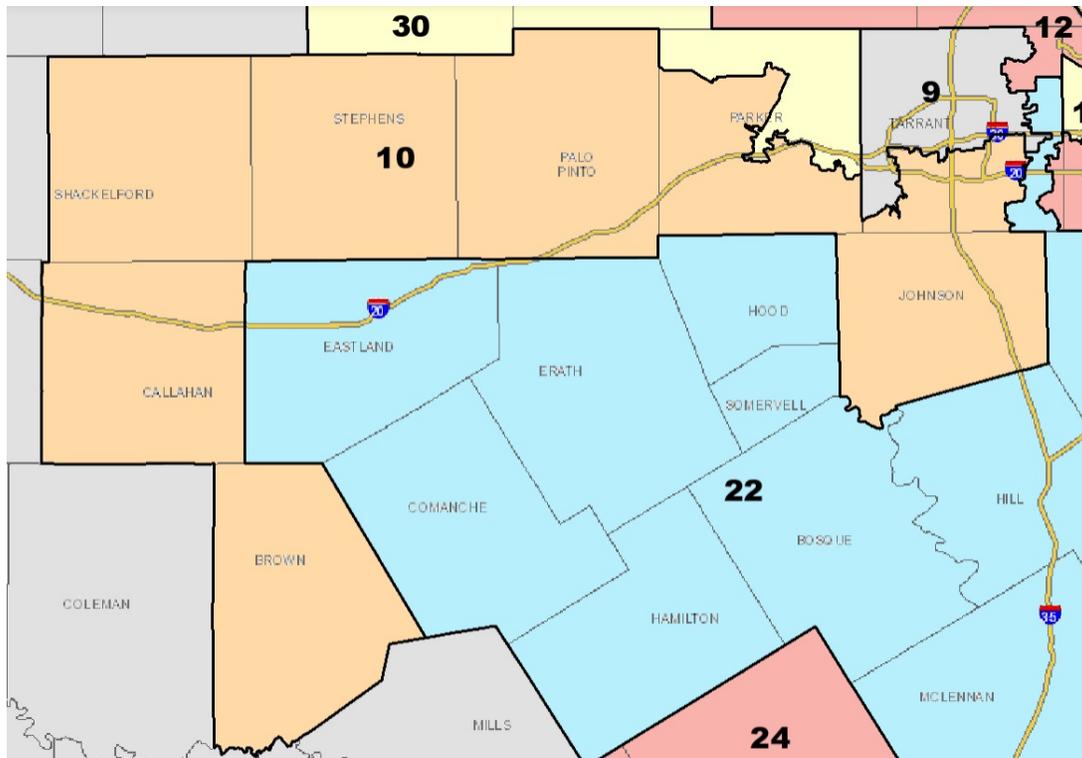


39. SB4 also eliminates Anglo crossover voters from SD10 and replaces them with Anglo voters from seven rural counties who vote almost entirely as a bloc against minority-preferred candidates. The maps below show in red circles the Anglo crossover voters from current SD10 who are eliminated from the district by SB4. In the areas shown in red, a portion of Anglo voters crossover to support minority-preferred candidates. Together, the areas shown in red have a roughly 78% Anglo CVAP, but the Anglo-preferred candidates generally receive vote percentages of 13-17 points below that number (*i.e.* Anglo-preferred candidates receive about 61-65% of the vote in the areas shown in red).

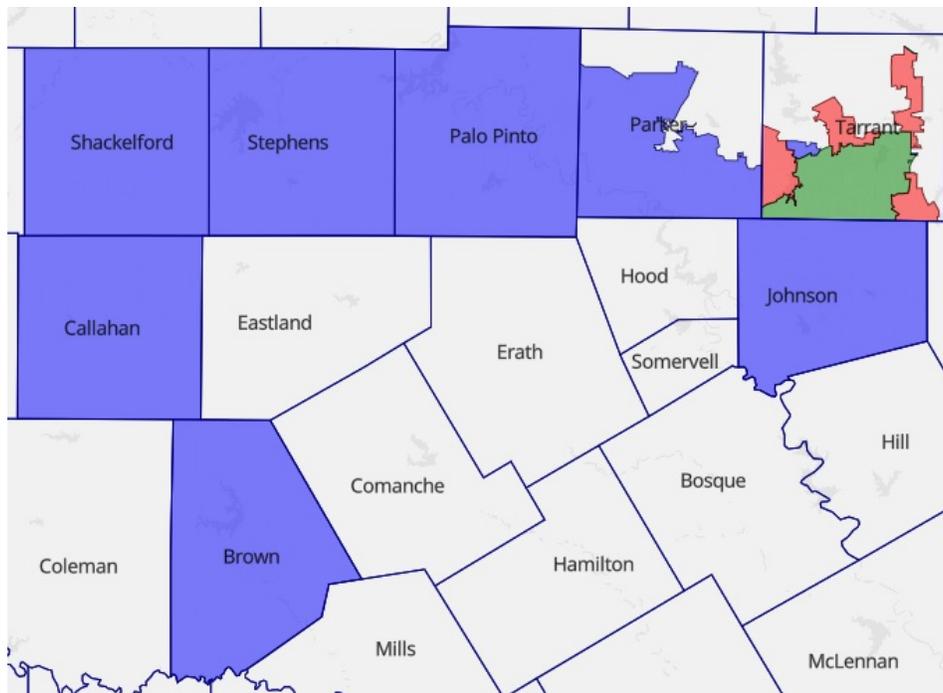


40. By contrast, SB4 eliminates these regions with Anglo crossover voters and replaces them (as well as the cleaved minority populations shown in the previous maps) with seven rural counties dominated by Anglo voters who engage in little to no crossover voting. The map below shows the enacted version of SD10. The seven rural counties added to SD10 have an 80.4% Anglo CVAP, and the Anglo-preferred candidates generally receive vote percentages nearly equal to the

Anglo share of CVAP (*i.e.*, Anglo-preferred candidates receive about 78.1-82.7% of the vote in those seven counties).



41. The map below compares three regions: (1) in green, the area in current SD10 that SB4 retains, (2) in red, the area in current SD10 that SB4 eliminates, and (3) in blue, the new area added to SD10 in SB4.



42. The green area contains 558,335 people, of whom 205,181 (36.7%) are Anglo, 182,243 (32.6%) are Hispanic, 140,270 (25.1%) are Black, and 26,019 (4.7%) are Asian.

43. The red area—the area removed from SD10—contains 387,161 people, of whom 168,721 (43.6%) are Anglo, 122,446 (31.6%) are Hispanic, 63,362 (16.4%) are Black, and 27,522 (7.1%) are Asian.

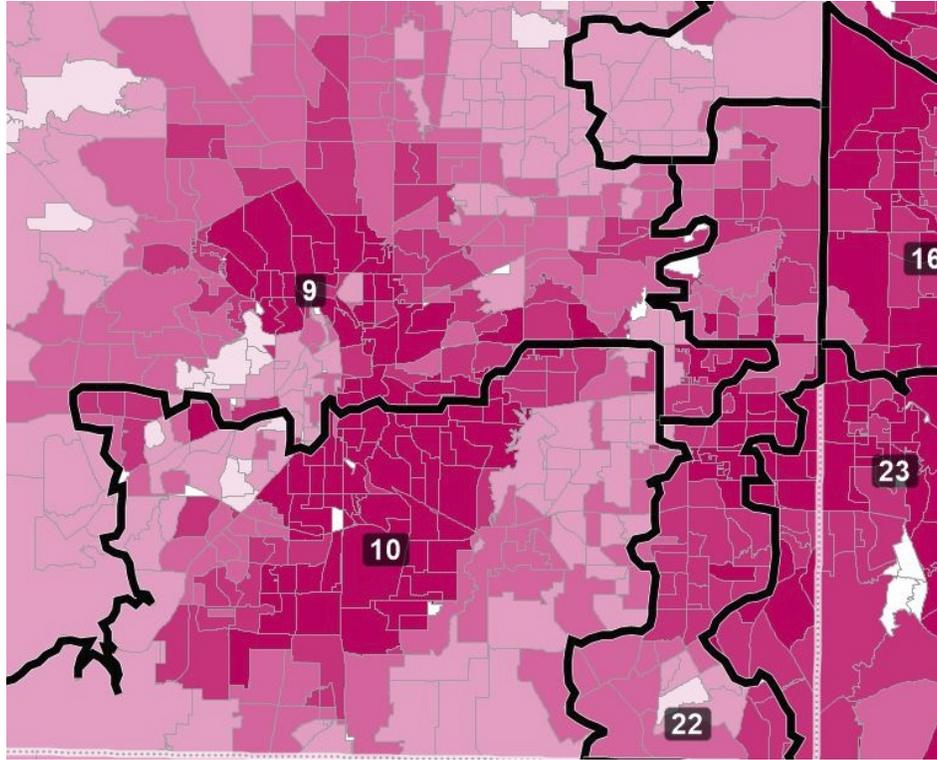
44. The blue area—the area added to SD10—contains 377,534 people, of whom 253,532 (67.2%) are Anglo, 81,604 (21.6%) are Hispanic, 25,138 (6.7%) are Black, and 5,734 (1.5%) are Asian.

45. The **Anglo** population share is 23.6 percentage points **higher** in the new area than in the eliminated area, the **Hispanic** population share is 10 percentage points **lower** in the new area than in the eliminated area, the **Black** population share is 9.7 percentage points **lower** in the new area than in the eliminated area, and the Asian population share is 5.6 percentage points **lower** in the new area than in the eliminated area.

46. SB4 thus increases SD10's Anglo population by 84,811, decreases its Hispanic population by 40,842, decreases its Black population by 38,224, and decreases its Asian population by 21,788.

47. The net effect of SB4's cracking of minority populations, its elimination of Anglo crossover voters, and its addition of near-uniformly bloc-voting Anglo voters is the intentional dismantling of a performing crossover district. Unlike current SD10, which performs to elect minority voters' candidates of choice, the new SD10 will reliably defeat minority voters' preferred candidates. For example, Trump (R) defeated Biden (D) in this district 57.2% to 41.4%, Cornyn (R) defeated Hegar (D) 58.5% to 39.1%, Cruz (R) defeated O'Rourke (D) 56.9% to 42.3%, Paxton (R) defeated Nelson (D) 56.4% to 41.3%, and Patrick (R) defeated Collier (D) 57.0% to 40.8%.

48. As the map below shows, the new senate districts for Tarrant County crack its minority populations into pieces, spreading them across three districts that will be controlled by Anglo voters. In a majority-minority county of over 2 million residents, minority voters will have their voices shut out completely, reducing from *one* to *zero* the number of senate districts in which they will be able to elect their candidate of choice.



***The Dismantling of SD10 as a Performing Crossover District Was Intentionally Racially Discriminatory***

49. These extreme changes to SD10—a district that had near perfect population equality and that was ordered in place last decade to remedy intentional racial discrimination—were done in order to destroy its performing crossover status. This was intentionally racially discriminatory against Tarrant County’s minority voters.

50. The Chair of the Senate Redistricting Committee, Sen. Joan Huffman, served on the 2011 Senate Redistricting Committee that was responsible for the 2011 Senate Plan ruled by the federal court to be intentionally discriminatory as to SD10. She attended committee meetings in which witnesses testified about the particular neighborhoods within SD10 that had large concentrations of minority voters.

51. Chair Huffman acknowledged that she “probably” has read the federal court’s order ruling SD10 to be the product of intentional racial discrimination, and she was well aware of the Court’s ruling with respect to SD10.

52. Chair Huffman received the April 18, 2013 letter from then-Attorney General Abbott acknowledging the federal court’s ruling that SD10 was the product of intentional racial discrimination and urging the committee to remedy that violation by adopting the benchmark configuration of SD10 that reunited its minority population.

53. Chair Huffman served on the 2013 Senate Redistricting Committee and attended meetings in which the federal court’s ruling that SD10 was the product of intentional racial discrimination was discussed. Chair Huffman voted to repeal the discriminatory 2011 Plan and adopt the benchmark configuration of SD10 in its place, in response to the federal court’s ruling and the urging of then-Attorney General Abbott that the committee correct the violation of law with respect to SD10.

54. Chair Huffman presided over multiple senate redistricting committee hearings prior to drawing Plan S2168 in which the State Demographer, Dr. Potter, discussed the explosive growth of minority communities, including in Tarrant County.

55. Chair Huffman is fully aware of the location of Tarrant County’s minority population. Moreover, her lead staffer responsible for actually drawing the district lines, Anna Mackin, is likewise fully aware of the location of Tarrant County’s minority population.

56. During the Senate Redistricting Committee hearings, multiple witnesses—voters, elected officials, and community leaders from across SD10—spoke in great detail about how the proposed plan would fracture SD10’s minority community, with the names of particular

neighborhoods and the specific numbers of minority residents cracked apart by the proposal provided repeatedly by witnesses.

57. During a meeting with Sen. Huffman and her aides Anna Mackin and Sean Opperman prior to the release of the proposed plan, Sen. Powell—who currently represents SD10—showed Sen. Huffman maps of current SD10 with shading to indicate the location of the district’s minority population. Sen. Huffman viewed each of several maps, initialed, and dated each map. Sen. Huffman was also provided a copy of the federal court order from 2012 declaring the prior attempt to dismantle SD10 was the result of purposeful racial discrimination. Anna Mackin displayed in-depth knowledge of the decision—a fact obvious from her decade of extensive involvement in Texas redistricting, including *Perez v. Abbott*.

58. Sen. Powell followed up with a letter to Sen. Huffman on September 16, 2021, which included the maps showing the location of SD10’s minority population, and attachments providing detailed facts of SD10’s minority population and its status as a performing crossover district for minority voters.

59. Before the senate plan was released, Sen. Powell emailed each member of the Senate a copy of the letter, maps, federal court order, and fact sheet that she had sent to Sen. Huffman. The cover email included a map showing how the proposed plan cracked apart SD10’s minority population in order to destroy its performance as a crossover district. When the senate plan was introduced in the House, Sen. Powell sent similar correspondence and materials to the House Redistricting Committee members, and then to all members of the Texas House.

60. During the floor debate on SB4, Sen. Powell questioned Sen. Huffman at length about the redistricting process and the choice to intentionally dismantle SD10 so that it would no longer perform as a crossover district for minority voters.

61. Sen. Huffman offered demonstrably false, pretextual statements in support of her dismantling of SD10 as a performing crossover district for minority voters, such as the goals of population equality (until a last minute change, proposed SD10 had a population deviation four times its benchmark deviation), preserving political subdivisions (the plan splits Arlington into four senate districts), compactness (the plan worsens it), preserving the core of existing districts (the plan splits apart the core of the existing district and appends seven rural counties), preserving communities of interest (the plan cracks apart SD10's core communities of interest), and incumbent protection (the plan would likely cause the defeat of the minority-preferred incumbent). Sen. Huffman could not cite which of these criteria she followed when drawing SD10; she falsely and pretextually asserted that her decision to crack apart SD10's minority communities served "all" of these supposed redistricting criteria.

62. Sen. Huffman was speechless when asked by Sen. Powell during the floor debate to explain how she managed to draw a plan that reduced the number of majority-minority senate districts from the benchmark plan notwithstanding the fact that minority voters constituted 95% of the 4-million-person growth in the state.

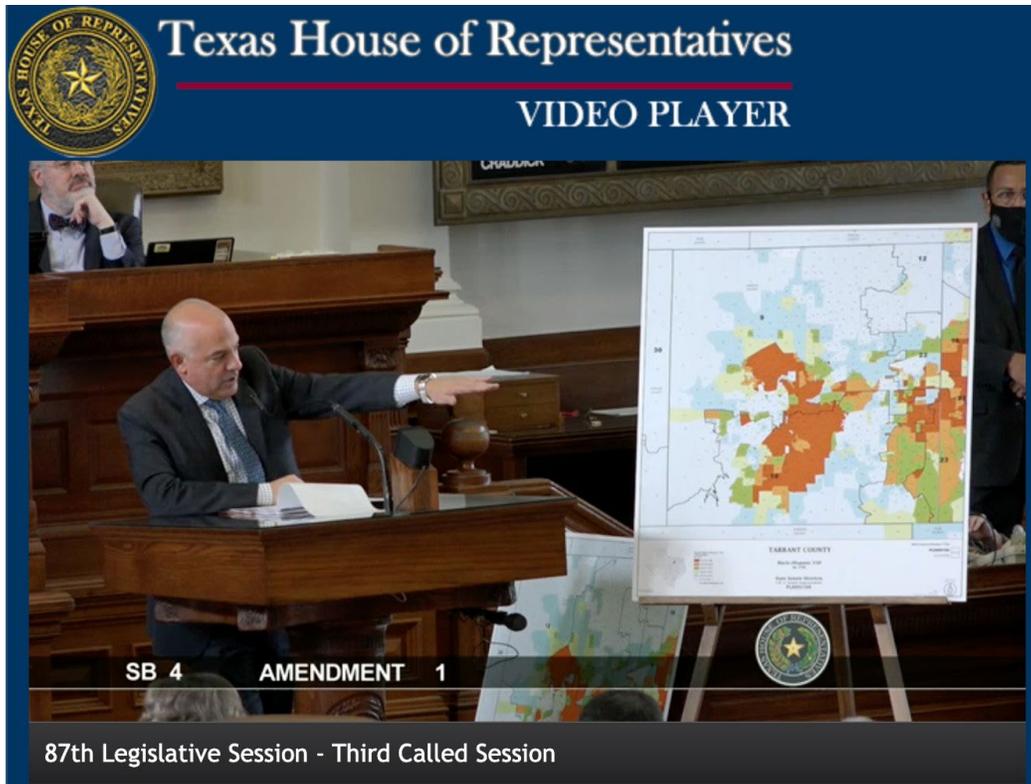
63. Sen. Huffman was speechless when asked by Sen. Powell during the floor debate to explain how it came to be that the districts with the largest *increases* in their share of minority population were those in which the added minority population would have *no effect* on electoral outcomes.

64. Sen. Huffman was speechless when asked by Sen. Powell during the floor debate to explain how the districts with the largest *decreases* in their share of minorities were those in which the Anglo-preferred incumbents were most at risk of electoral defeat in upcoming elections.

65. None of this was a coincidence. It was the result of intentional racial discrimination in order to dilute minority voters' ability to elect their preferred candidates.

66. Sen. Powell offered a floor amendment to return SD10 to essentially its benchmark configuration. When that amendment was offered, Republican Sen. Kel Seliger, who had chaired the 2011 and 2013 Senate Redistricting Committees, commented that SB4 proposed "a substantial decrease in [SD10] in the . . . voting age population of Hispanic an African American voters." Sen. Seliger voted in favor of the amendment to restore SD10, and voted against SB4. A bipartisan group of senators supported eliminating the intentional racial discrimination in SB4 with respect to SD10, but to no avail.

67. During the House debate on SB4, Rep. Chris Turner placed maps on each House member's desk showing, with shading, how the proposed senate plan cracked apart SD10's minority community. He also displayed a large poster on the House floor, as shown below. Every member of the Legislature was fully aware of the intentional cracking of SD10's minority community, and its discriminatory effect.



68. The process of adopting SB4 demonstrated departures from the normal procedures and from the substantive considerations usually deemed important by the Legislature in redistricting.

69. The Senate Redistricting Committee offered little advance notice of its hearing. Late in the evening before a hearing on the senate redistricting plan, Sen. Huffman released a committee amendment, S2108, that radically altered SD10 even more than the original proposal, tacking on an additional eight rural counties. The hearing at which the public was to testify was held the very next morning, and the large blown-up maps in the room that the public could see in order to comment on the maps were of the *old* proposal, rather than the committee substitute.

70. The Senate Redistricting Committee conducted no field hearings, and Sen. Huffman refused Sen. Powell's invitation for the Committee to come to Tarrant County to hear from minority voters victimized by the discriminatory proposal.

71. When Sen. Huffman made changes throughout the process to SD10 and its neighboring districts, she kept all the other affected members informed except for Sen. Powell, who represented the district controlled by minority voters.

72. The historical background of the decision to dismantle SD10 reveals a discriminatory purpose. The *precise same* scheme was ruled intentionally racially discriminatory in 2012. Sen. Huffman has acknowledged that she “probably” read that decision and is familiar with its ruling regarding SD10, was on the Committee that drew the invalidated plan, received the legal advice from then-Attorney General Abbott that the legislature was duty-bound to correct that discrimination, and ultimately voted to reinstate SD10 to its benchmark configuration to remedy that discrimination in 2013. The decision to knowingly revive the same discriminatory scheme, in light of that history, evidences purposeful racial discrimination.

73. The specific sequence of events leading to the enactment of SB4 illustrates its racially discriminatory purpose. As just one example, Sen. Huffman offered shifting pretextual explanations for the choice to dismantle SD10 as a performing crossover district, while ignoring the cavalcade of testimony of minority voters and community leaders asking the legislature not to repeat the same discriminatory tactic that had been declared unlawful in 2012.

74. SB4, including its dismantling of SD10 as a performing crossover district for minority voters, has an extreme, disproportionate negative impact on minority voters compare to Anglo voters. With the destruction of SD10, SB4 reduces the number of districts in which Texas voters of color can elect their candidate of choice, even though Texans of color are responsible for **95%** of the State’s explosive population growth since 2010.

75. The legislature intended the discriminatory result it achieved—a second attempt in ten years to accomplish the same illegal goal with respect to SD10.

***Race Predominated in the Drawing of SD10***

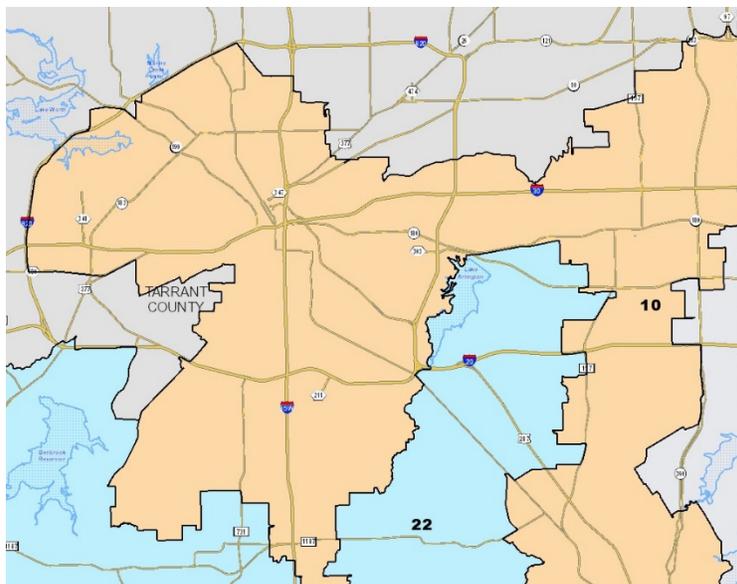
76. Race—cracking minority communities and adding multiple Anglo-controlled counties—was the predominant consideration in the drawing of SD10, and it was not in service of a compelling interest like complying with the Voting Rights Act.

77. Other districting criteria, like compactness, respect for political subdivisions, communities of interest, incumbent protection, and others were subordinated to race.

***Tarrant County’s Black and Latino Voters Form a Geographically Compact, Politically Cohesive Group Entitled to a Coalition Senate District Under Section 2 of the VRA***

78. SB4 cracks apart Tarrant County’s minority populations, diluting their voting strength by submerging them in Anglo-controlled senate districts.

79. The population of Black and Hispanic voters in Tarrant County is sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a newly configured SD10. For example, Plan S2134, shown below, was offered as a floor amendment by Sen. Powell. It has an Anglo CVAP of 41.8%, a Black CVAP of 26.3%, a Hispanic CVAP of 26.3%, and an Asian CVAP of 3.7%. Its combined Black and Hispanic CVAP is thus 52.6%.



80. Black and Hispanic voters in Tarrant County are politically cohesive. General elections are most probative, given the high voter participation and the political unity that exists within the choice of which party's primary to vote in. But both recent general and primary elections illustrate the strong cohesion between Tarrant County's Black and Hispanic voters.

81. Moreover, as SB4's configuration of SD10 illustrates, Anglo bloc voting will usually defeat Black and Hispanic voters' candidates of choice in the region, as the minority-preferred candidates prevailed in zero elections in the newly configured district among recent statewide elections. Even in just Tarrant County, which is 57.1% Anglo CVAP, the candidates preferred by Black and Hispanic voters lost 7 of the 9 most recent elections statewide elections (2020 Senate, 2018 Governor, 2018 Lieutenant Governor, 2018 Attorney General, 2016 President, 2014 Senate, 2014 Governor).

82. The totality of circumstances demonstrate that Black and Hispanic voters have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 10301(b).

83. There is a history of official voting-related discrimination in Texas. Indeed, the federal court found that the legislature acted with racially discriminatory intent in its last redistricting of SD10. Moreover, the San Antonio federal court ruled that the legislature's cracking and packing of minority voters in the 2011 Dallas Forth-Worth area congressional districts was the product of intentional racial discrimination. And the *en banc* Fifth Circuit held in 2016 that Texas's voter ID law had a racially discriminatory effect in violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. History is replete with examples in Texas, which hasn't made it through a single redistricting cycle in modern history without being found to have racially discriminated in intent or effect.

84. Voting in Tarrant County is racially polarized, with Anglo voters preferring Republican candidates by wide margins and Black and Hispanic voters preferring Democratic candidates by wide margins.

85. Black and Hispanic residents of Tarrant County bear the effects of discrimination in education, employment, and health, which hinders their ability to participate effectively in the political process. For example, in 2017, the Fort Worth City Council appointed a task force on Race and Culture and the task force issued its report on December 4, 2018.

86. The task force found that in Fort Worth in 2016, the unemployment rate among Anglo residents was 4.2%, while it was 6.1% among Black residents and 5.7% among Hispanic residents. The 2016 median household income in Fort Worth was \$63,704 for Anglo households, \$41,317 for Black households, and \$44,748 for Hispanic households.

87. The task force found that, in Fort Worth, Anglo residents are more likely to hold a bachelor's degree than Black and Hispanic residents, and Black and Hispanic residents are more likely to live in economically depressed areas.

88. The task force found that in the Fort Worth ISD, 62% of Anglo third-grade students were reading at grade level, while just 32% of Hispanic and 20% of Black third-grade students were.

89. The task force reported, based on 2015 statistics, that the infant death rate in Tarrant County was 9.6 per 1,000 for Black babies, 6.2 per 1,000 for Hispanic babies, and 4.3 per 1,000 for Anglo babies.

90. Health disparities are evident in diabetes diagnoses in Tarrant County. The task force reported that 16% of Black residents had been diagnosed with diabetes, 12% of Hispanic residents had, and 9% of Anglo residents had.

91. Elections in Tarrant County have seen frequent overt and subtle racial appeals in campaigns, from President down to local offices.

92. Black and Hispanic residents are underrepresented in elected office in Tarrant County. The Fort Worth task force found that Hispanic residents were underrepresented on the city council. Until recently, only 1 of the 5 members of the Tarrant County Commissioners Court were Black; now 2 are. There are no Hispanic Commissioners. Only 1 of Tarrant County's 11 state house members is Black, and only 1 is Hispanic.

93. Black and Hispanic voters are a combined 43.4% of the CVAP in Texas, yet only 11 of 31 senate districts (35.5%) in SB4 are majority Black and/or Hispanic.

## **CAUSES OF ACTION**

### **COUNT 1**

#### ***Intentional Racial Discrimination in Violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. § 10301 et seq.***

94. Plaintiffs incorporate by reference all preceding paragraphs as if fully set forth herein.

95. Texas Senate Plan S2168, as reflected in SB4, was enacted with the intent to discriminate on the basis of race and national origin, and has a discriminatory effect on that basis, by the intentional dismantling of SD10 as an effective crossover district for minority voters.

### **COUNT 2**

#### ***Intentional Racial Discrimination in Violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment***

96. Plaintiffs incorporate by reference all preceding paragraphs as if fully set forth herein.

97. Texas Senate Plan S2168, as reflected in SB4, was enacted with the intent to discriminate on the basis of race and national origin, and has a discriminatory effect on that basis, by the intentional dismantling of SD10 as an effective crossover district for minority voters.

**COUNT 3**

***Intentional Racial Discrimination in Violation of the Fifteenth Amendment***

98. Plaintiffs incorporate by reference all preceding paragraphs as if fully set forth herein.

99. Texas Senate Plan S2168, as reflected in SB4, was enacted with the intent to discriminate on the basis of race and national origin, and has a discriminatory effect on that basis, by the intentional dismantling of SD10 as an effective crossover district for minority voters.

**COUNT 4**

***Predominant use of race in violation of Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (Shaw Violation)***

100. Plaintiffs incorporate by reference all preceding paragraphs as if fully set forth herein.

101. Race was the predominant consideration in the drawing of SD10, with other districting criteria, such as compactness, respect for communities of interest, respect for political subdivisions, and other considerations subordinated to racial considerations.

102. There is no compelling interest that justifies the racial predominance in the drawing of SD10. While Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act provided a compelling justification to draw an alternative district in which Black and Latino voters would form the majority of eligible voters in a newly configured SD10 based solely in Tarrant County, SD10 as enacted violates, rather than advances, Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.

103. The racial predominance in the drawing of SD10 violates the Equal Protection Clause.

### **COUNT 5**

#### ***Discriminatory Results in Violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. § 10301 et seq. (State Senate/Tarrant County)***

104. Plaintiffs incorporate by reference all preceding paragraphs as if fully set forth herein.

105. Black and Hispanic voters in Tarrant County are sufficiently numerous and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a single member senate district.

106. Black and Hispanic voters in Tarrant County are politically cohesive.

107. Anglo voters in Tarrant County, and in the legislature's enacted version of SD10 in SB4, vote sufficiently as a bloc to usually defeat the candidates of choice of Black and Hispanic voters.

108. The totality of circumstances reveals that Black and Latino voters in Tarrant County have less opportunity than other groups of the electorate to elect their candidates of choice and to participate in the political process.

109. Black and Hispanic voters are thus entitled, under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, to a coalition district that would provide them with an effective opportunity to elect the candidate of their choice to the Texas State Senate.

### **REQUESTED RELIEF**

Plaintiffs request that the Court:

- a) Issue a declaratory judgment that Texas Senate Plan S2168, enacted in SB4, unlawfully dilutes minorities' voting right, through intentional racial discrimination in violation of

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, in SD10 by intentionally dismantling a performing crossover district;

- b) Issue a declaratory judgment that Texas Senate Plan S2168, enacted in SB4, unlawfully had race as the predominant consideration in the drawing of SD10, with other districting criteria subordinated to race, without any sufficient justification;
- c) Issue a declaratory judgment that Texas Senate Plan S2168, enacted in SB4, violates the discriminatory results prong of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act by failing to draw a coalition district in Tarrant County for Black and Latino voters in which they would have the opportunity to elect their candidate of choice to the state senate;
- d) Preliminarily and permanently enjoin Defendants from calling, holding, supervising, or certifying any elections under Texas Senate Plan S2168, as enacted in SB4, with respect to SD10. Plaintiffs have no adequate remedy at law other than judicial relief sought herein, and unless Defendants are enjoined from using Texas Senate Plan S2168 with respect to SD10, Plaintiffs will be irreparably injured by the continued violation of their statutory rights;
- e) Set a reasonable deadline for state authorities to enact or adopt a redistricting plan with respect to SD10 that does not dilute, cancel out, or minimize the voting strength of minority voters;
- f) If state authorities fail to enact or adopt a valid redistricting plan by the Court's deadline, order a new senate redistricting plans that does not dilute, cancel out, or minimize the voting strength of minority voters in Tarrant County;
- g) Award Plaintiffs their costs and reasonable attorneys' fees pursuant to Fed. R. Civ. P. 54, 42 U.S.C. § 1988, and 52 U.S.C. § 10310(e);

- h) Retain jurisdiction and render any and further orders that the Court may find necessary to cure the violation; and
- i) Grant any and all further relief to which Plaintiffs may show themselves to be entitled.

November 3, 2021

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Chad W. Dunn

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\*Motions for admission *pro hac vice*  
forthcoming

*Counsel for Plaintiffs*

CIVIL COVER SHEET

The JS 44 civil cover sheet and the information contained herein neither replace nor supplement the filing and service of pleadings or other papers as required by law, except as provided by local rules of court. This form, approved by the Judicial Conference of the United States in September 1974, is required for the use of the Clerk of Court for the purpose of initiating the civil docket sheet. (SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON NEXT PAGE OF THIS FORM.)

I. (a) PLAINTIFFS
ROY CHARLES BROOKS, FELIPE GUTIERREZ,
PHYLLIS GOINES, EVA BONILLA, CLARA FAULKNER,
DEBORAH SPELL, and BEVERLY POWELL
(b) County of Residence of First Listed Plaintiff Tarrant County, TX
(c) Attorneys (Firm Name, Address, and Telephone Number)
Chad W. Dunn, Brazil & Dunn, LLP (512-717-9822)
4407 Bee Caves Road, Suite 111, Austin, TX 78746

DEFENDANTS
GREG ABBOTT, in his official capacity as Governor of Texas;
JOHN SCOTT, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of Texas
County of Residence of First Listed Defendant
NOTE: IN LAND CONDEMNATION CASES, USE THE LOCATION OF THE TRACT OF LAND INVOLVED.
Attorneys (If Known)

II. BASIS OF JURISDICTION (Place an "X" in One Box Only)
1 U.S. Government Plaintiff
2 U.S. Government Defendant
3 Federal Question (U.S. Government Not a Party)
4 Diversity (Indicate Citizenship of Parties in Item III)

III. CITIZENSHIP OF PRINCIPAL PARTIES (Place an "X" in One Box for Plaintiff and One Box for Defendant)
PTF DEF
Citizen of This State 1 1
Citizen of Another State 2 2
Citizen or Subject of a Foreign Country 3 3
Incorporated or Principal Place of Business In This State 4 4
Incorporated and Principal Place of Business In Another State 5 5
Foreign Nation 6 6

IV. NATURE OF SUIT (Place an "X" in One Box Only)
Table with columns: CONTRACT, REAL PROPERTY, TORTS, CIVIL RIGHTS, PRISONER PETITIONS, FORFEITURE/PENALTY, LABOR, IMMIGRATION, BANKRUPTCY, SOCIAL SECURITY, FEDERAL TAX SUITS, OTHER STATUTES.

V. ORIGIN (Place an "X" in One Box Only)
1 Original Proceeding
2 Removed from State Court
3 Remanded from Appellate Court
4 Reinstated or Reopened
5 Transferred from Another District (specify)
6 Multidistrict Litigation - Transfer
8 Multidistrict Litigation - Direct File

VI. CAUSE OF ACTION
Cite the U.S. Civil Statute under which you are filing (Do not cite jurisdictional statutes unless diversity):
42 U.S. 1983 and 52 U.S.C. § 10301
Brief description of cause:
Action to enforce the right to vote

VII. REQUESTED IN COMPLAINT:
CHECK IF THIS IS A CLASS ACTION UNDER RULE 23, F.R.Cv.P. DEMAND \$ N/A
CHECK YES only if demanded in complaint: JURY DEMAND: Yes No

VIII. RELATED CASE(S) IF ANY
(See instructions): JUDGE DOCKET NUMBER

DATE November 3, 2021 SIGNATURE OF ATTORNEY OF RECORD /s/ Chad W. Dunn

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
RECEIPT # AMOUNT APPLYING IFP JUDGE MAG. JUDGE

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR ATTORNEYS COMPLETING CIVIL COVER SHEET FORM JS 44**

## Authority For Civil Cover Sheet

The JS 44 civil cover sheet and the information contained herein neither replaces nor supplements the filings and service of pleading or other papers as required by law, except as provided by local rules of court. This form, approved by the Judicial Conference of the United States in September 1974, is required for the use of the Clerk of Court for the purpose of initiating the civil docket sheet. Consequently, a civil cover sheet is submitted to the Clerk of Court for each civil complaint filed. The attorney filing a case should complete the form as follows:

- I.(a) Plaintiffs-Defendants.** Enter names (last, first, middle initial) of plaintiff and defendant. If the plaintiff or defendant is a government agency, use only the full name or standard abbreviations. If the plaintiff or defendant is an official within a government agency, identify first the agency and then the official, giving both name and title.
- (b) County of Residence.** For each civil case filed, except U.S. plaintiff cases, enter the name of the county where the first listed plaintiff resides at the time of filing. In U.S. plaintiff cases, enter the name of the county in which the first listed defendant resides at the time of filing. (NOTE: In land condemnation cases, the county of residence of the "defendant" is the location of the tract of land involved.)
- (c) Attorneys.** Enter the firm name, address, telephone number, and attorney of record. If there are several attorneys, list them on an attachment, noting in this section "(see attachment)".
- II. Jurisdiction.** The basis of jurisdiction is set forth under Rule 8(a), F.R.Cv.P., which requires that jurisdictions be shown in pleadings. Place an "X" in one of the boxes. If there is more than one basis of jurisdiction, precedence is given in the order shown below.  
 United States plaintiff. (1) Jurisdiction based on 28 U.S.C. 1345 and 1348. Suits by agencies and officers of the United States are included here. United States defendant. (2) When the plaintiff is suing the United States, its officers or agencies, place an "X" in this box.  
 Federal question. (3) This refers to suits under 28 U.S.C. 1331, where jurisdiction arises under the Constitution of the United States, an amendment to the Constitution, an act of Congress or a treaty of the United States. In cases where the U.S. is a party, the U.S. plaintiff or defendant code takes precedence, and box 1 or 2 should be marked.  
 Diversity of citizenship. (4) This refers to suits under 28 U.S.C. 1332, where parties are citizens of different states. When Box 4 is checked, the citizenship of the different parties must be checked. (See Section III below; **NOTE: federal question actions take precedence over diversity cases.**)
- III. Residence (citizenship) of Principal Parties.** This section of the JS 44 is to be completed if diversity of citizenship was indicated above. Mark this section for each principal party.
- IV. Nature of Suit.** Place an "X" in the appropriate box. If there are multiple nature of suit codes associated with the case, pick the nature of suit code that is most applicable. Click here for: [Nature of Suit Code Descriptions](#).
- V. Origin.** Place an "X" in one of the seven boxes.  
 Original Proceedings. (1) Cases which originate in the United States district courts.  
 Removed from State Court. (2) Proceedings initiated in state courts may be removed to the district courts under Title 28 U.S.C., Section 1441.  
 Remanded from Appellate Court. (3) Check this box for cases remanded to the district court for further action. Use the date of remand as the filing date.  
 Reinstated or Reopened. (4) Check this box for cases reinstated or reopened in the district court. Use the reopening date as the filing date.  
 Transferred from Another District. (5) For cases transferred under Title 28 U.S.C. Section 1404(a). Do not use this for within district transfers or multidistrict litigation transfers.  
 Multidistrict Litigation – Transfer. (6) Check this box when a multidistrict case is transferred into the district under authority of Title 28 U.S.C. Section 1407.  
 Multidistrict Litigation – Direct File. (8) Check this box when a multidistrict case is filed in the same district as the Master MDL docket.  
**PLEASE NOTE THAT THERE IS NOT AN ORIGIN CODE 7.** Origin Code 7 was used for historical records and is no longer relevant due to changes in statute.
- VI. Cause of Action.** Report the civil statute directly related to the cause of action and give a brief description of the cause. **Do not cite jurisdictional statutes unless diversity.** Example: U.S. Civil Statute: 47 USC 553 Brief Description: Unauthorized reception of cable service.
- VII. Requested in Complaint.** Class Action. Place an "X" in this box if you are filing a class action under Rule 23, F.R.Cv.P.  
 Demand. In this space enter the actual dollar amount being demanded or indicate other demand, such as a preliminary injunction.  
 Jury Demand. Check the appropriate box to indicate whether or not a jury is being demanded.
- VIII. Related Cases.** This section of the JS 44 is used to reference related pending cases, if any. If there are related pending cases, insert the docket numbers and the corresponding judge names for such cases.

**Date and Attorney Signature.** Date and sign the civil cover sheet.